

## Women's Teacher Education in Slovenian and Croatian Lands of Austria-Hungary – A Comparative Analysis

MONIKA GOVEKAR-OKOLIŠ

Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani

Ljubljana, Slovenija

[monika.govekar-okolis@guest.arnes.si](mailto:monika.govekar-okolis@guest.arnes.si)

The paper offers an insight into the education of primary school women teachers in Slovenian and Croatian lands of Austria-Hungary through legislation and the organisation of women's teacher training colleges. The study encompasses a historical comparative analysis for the period from 1867 to 1914. The appearance of the Dual Monarchy brought changes in women teacher education. These can be primarily seen in school legislation. Women teachers became state employees. New state women's teacher training colleges appeared, as did private ones with public accreditation. Analysis of the legislation shows differences between the syllabuses of women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian and Croatian lands. A comparison of their activities also shows differences in development, number, and organisation. In Slovenian lands, under the Austrian school legislation, the development of four-year women's teacher training colleges was somewhat faster than in Croatian lands. The comparison shows that private women's teacher training colleges were predominant in Slovenian and Croatian lands.

Key words: Austria-Hungary; women's teacher education; women's school legislation; women's teacher training colleges; Slovenian and Croatian lands

### Introduction\*

Before the year 1869, women who wanted to become teachers acquired the necessary knowledge from nuns in monasteries, private girls' schools, or at home. During the period covered by this article, i.e. from the emergence of the dualist Austria-Hungary (1867) until World War I (1914), many changes were implemented in women's education. In general, the network of schools grew, attendance increased, the obligation to attend school became better estab-

---

\* This article is the product of a study, which is part of the research project 'From Protomodernisation to Modernisation of Croatia's College System'. It is a part of the research conducted at the Croatian Institute of History in Zagreb, financed by the Croatian Science Foundation under no. 4919.

lished, and education had increasing influence on the development of culture and general awareness, while the supervision of schools was transferred from the Church to laypersons/the state. This meant that, in addition to religious education, the importance of secular education (civic, patriotic, and national) grew. Schools acquired visible characteristics of national, state directed institutions. Numerous new laws regarding school administration in Slovenian and Croatian territories addressed school organisation, language of instruction, funding, teachers' positions, and so on. The role of teachers changed, and teacher training colleges were founded and separated by gender.<sup>1</sup>

The aim of this historical study is to compare the development of the education of primary school women teachers in Slovenian and Croatian lands within Austria-Hungary. School legislation pertaining to women's teacher education is analysed, and the syllabuses and foundation of teacher training colleges, their number and organisation with regard to the founder (private or state) are compared. A descriptive research method was used.<sup>2</sup> The data was obtained by collecting and analysing primary sources dating back to the time of Austria-Hungary (teaching legislation, various Slovenian and Croatian teaching journals and literature) and secondary historical sources.

The study deals with those areas within Austria-Hungary that were populated by Slovenians or Croats in the relevant period. Slovenians lived mostly in administratively divided lands (Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Gorizia and Gradisca, Istria, and Trieste) in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, to a lesser extent and without national rights in the Zala and Vas counties in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy, and in Friulian Slavia, which from 1866 onwards belonged to the Kingdom of Italy.<sup>3</sup> Slovenians represented an absolute majority only in Carniola and a relative one in Gorizia, while they were a minority in all the other administrative areas. The study includes women's teacher training colleges across the entire Slovenian ethnic territory, the marginal parts of which are today outside the Republic of Slovenia (Klagenfurt, Gorizia, Trieste). The Croats lived in the more unified territory of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia and in Međimurje in the Hungarian part of Austria-Hungary as well as in Dalmatia and most of Istria, in the Austrian part.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the Slovenians, the northern parts of Istria were populated by Italians, mostly in the seaside

---

<sup>1</sup> Monika Govekar-Okoliš, *The Role of Grammar Colleges in Forming the National Identity of the Slovenes Within Austria from 1849 to 1914*. (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2017), 59–65.

<sup>2</sup> Janez Sagadin, *Razprave iz pedagoške metodologije*. (Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta Univerza v Ljubljani 1991), 29.

<sup>3</sup> Jasna Fischer et al., *Slovenska novejša zgodovina 1848-1992: od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije*, vol. I, (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 2005), 17–23.

<sup>4</sup> About the development of Croatian lands in the dualism period is seen more in the synthesis *Povijest Hrvata*, vol. 2, 'Od kraja 15. stoljeća do kraja Prvoga svjetskog rata' (Mirko Valentić and Lovorka Čoralić, eds., Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005).

towns.<sup>5</sup> The study thus encompasses data about the women's teacher training colleges in the Slovenian lands within the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary: Maribor (Styria), Klagenfurt (Carinthia), Ljubljana and Škofja Loka (Carniola), Gorizia (Gorizia and Gradisca), Trieste and Koper (Istria), and data about the women's teacher training colleges in the Croatian lands of the Hungarian half of the Monarchy: in Zagreb, Karlovac, Đakovo, Osijek (Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia), and Međimurje as well as in Pazin (Istria) and Dubrovnik (Dalmatia) in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary. The terms 'Croatian' and especially 'Slovenian' lands are problematic in this context since they are not completely historically justified, as there were no political-administrative units under these names during the examined period. They are used to enable an easier comparison between the education of women teachers in the areas with Slovenian and Croatian populations in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The functioning and organisation of the centrally-led school system was managed by the school administration, which was part of the state administration. In accordance with the legislation of the time, the state school bodies had the jurisdiction to adopt syllabuses, curricula and standards, to organise school inspection services, and to develop the school network. Since there were different laws pertaining to different fields, including schools, in the two halves of Austria-Hungary prior to 1867, and the introduction of dualism only affirmed this, the school legislation of the two halves must be treated separately. After the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement (1868), the Croats in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia in the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary handled school matters independently. In 1874, under the influence of Austrian and Hungarian state school laws, the first Croatian school law was adopted and modernised in 1888, after the incorporation of the Military Frontier into the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. The legislation and syllabuses for women's teacher education in Austria-Hungary will therefore be analysed separately for Austrian half and the Hungarian half.

### The legislation and syllabuses for women's teacher education in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary

The modernisation of and fundamental changes regarding primary school, including the education of women teachers, began in the public schools reform plans in Austria in the revolutionary year of 1848.<sup>6</sup> However, these plans were mostly unrealisable since they presupposed reform in other areas, including the introduction of modern administrative municipalities. After Austria's defeat by Prussia (1866), which led to the dualist division of the Mon-

<sup>5</sup> Jože Žontar et al., *Handbücher und Karten zur Verwaltungsstruktur in den Länder Kärnten, Krain, Küstenland und Steiermark bis zum Jahre 1918* (Graz – Klagenfurt – Ljubljana – Gorizia – Trieste: Steiermarkisches Landesarchiv Graz, 1988), 18–198.

<sup>6</sup> Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Österreich 1848 (Wien: Der kaiserlich - königlichen Hof - und Staats druckerei 1848).

archy and because of which Austria rejected German unification, the German Liberals took on the leading role in Vienna.<sup>7</sup> With the introduction of the new school laws, which were among the most important Liberal demands, primary education was thus led in a Liberal direction during the first few years of dualism. Firstly, the State Law of 25 May 1868, which contained basic provisions concerning the relationship between school and Church, facilitated a transition from Church to secular schools.<sup>8</sup> The state took on administration and control of the implementation of education in schools, while the Church kept direct control over religious education. Article 9 of this law stated that the state performs the highest governance and control over education via the Ministry of Worship and Education.<sup>9</sup> The law also introduced the principle of decentralisation, with school councils at three levels. Article 10 stated that education was administered at the regional level by regional school councils, in districts by district school councils, and in municipalities by local school councils. The councils also decided on quantitative and qualitative changes in women's teacher education.

In Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Österreich (1848), two- and three-year women's teacher courses were planned in secondary vocational schools, from which women's teacher seminaries were to subsequently develop.<sup>10</sup> As no significant reform in women's teacher education occurred from 1848 until the introduction of the Liberal school legislation in the late 1860s, future teachers were trained at two- and three-year courses at what were still 'normal schools' (primary schools with old name "people's" schools in the capitals) and some important 'main schools' (primary schools with old name "people's" schools in bigger towns). The first public women's teacher training colleges in the form of four-year independent secondary school institutions, under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Worship and Education, were introduced through the third state Primary School Act - People's School Law of 14 May 1869, which also standardised and professionalised women's teacher education.<sup>11</sup> The law abolished the former differentiation of primary schools into trivial, main, and normal schools, introducing a unified eight-year primary "people's" school, which became a state institution, and women teachers became state employees. The law also prescribed that separate women's and men's teacher training colleges were to be founded.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Peter Vodopivec, *Od Pohlinove slovnice do samostojne države: slovenska zgodovina od konca 18. do konca 20. stoletja* (Ljubljana: Modrijan, 2006), 83.

<sup>8</sup> The law of 25 May 1868, 'wodurch grundsätzliche Bestimmungen über das Verhältnis der Schule zur Kirche erlassen werden', in: *Reichs - Gesetz - Blatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich*. RGBI 48, Jahrgang 1868 (Wien: Aus der kaiserlich- königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1868), 97.

<sup>9</sup> The law of 25 May 1868, RGBI 48, 98.

<sup>10</sup> Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Österreich 1848, Articles 17 and 58.

<sup>11</sup> The law of 14 May 1869, 'durch welches die Grundsätze des Unterrichtswesens bezüglich der Volksschulen festgestellt werden', in: RGBI 62, Jahrgang 1869 (Wien: Aus der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1869), Article 28.

<sup>12</sup> The law of 14 May 1869, RGBI 62, Article 26.

With the appearance of women's teacher training colleges, the path was opened up for girls to become teachers, at the time one of few women's intellectual professions. The law formalised the equality of the education of male and female teachers, and facilitated an improvement in the social status of many girls who became teachers.<sup>13</sup> The law also stated that future women teachers were required to have practical training. Every women's teacher training college thus had a 'practice classroom' as a model of a primary "people's" school where the students could practice. Women's teacher training colleges also had to form links with nursery schools.<sup>14</sup> In comparison to the previous women's teacher training courses at normal and main schools, with the introduction of teaching observation at primary "people's" schools and sessions in 'practice classroom', the demands on future women teachers and their qualifications improved considerably, as did the quality of their work, which followed more modern pedagogical concepts. The 14 May 1869 law also stated that, at the end of their education at women's teachers colleges, students had to pass a 'maturity examination' before a committee chaired by a representative of the regional school authorities, and acquire a maturity certificate.<sup>15</sup>

The 14 May 1869 law also determined the syllabus for the state women's teacher training colleges.<sup>16</sup>

Table 1: The Subjects for women's teacher training colleges in the year 1869 according to the law<sup>17</sup>

| No. | Subjects for women's teacher training colleges                      |
|-----|---|
| 1   | Religious Education   |
| 2   | Teaching and Education: Education History and Auxiliary Disciplines |
| 3   | Grammar: Written Texts and Literature                               |
| 4   | Geography and History   |
| 5   | Writing   |
| 6   | Arithmetic (Algebra)  |
| 7   | Natural Sciences (Nature and Physics)                               |
| 8   | Home Economics  |
| 9   | Foreign Languages   |
| 10  | Women's Handicrafts   |
| 11  | Drawing   |
| 12  | Singing   |
| 13  | Exercise for Women  |
| 14  | When needed: Teaching Precollege Education                          |

<sup>13</sup> Vlado Schmidt, *Zgodovina šolstva in pedagogike na Slovenskem*, III. del (Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1988), 245–246.

<sup>14</sup> The law of 14 May 1869, RGBI 62, Article 27.

<sup>15</sup> The law of 14 May 1869, RGBI 62, Article 34.

<sup>16</sup> The law of 14 May 1869, RGBI 62, Articles 29 and 30.

<sup>17</sup> The law of 14 May 1869, RGBI 62, Articles 29 and 30.

According to the law of the year 1869, female students had fourteen subjects, but the weekly number of lessons was not defined. The more important subjects included Religious Education; Teaching and Education; Education History and Auxiliary Disciplines; Grammar: Written Texts and Literature; Geography and History; Writing; Arithmetic (Algebra); and Natural Sciences (Nature and Physics). Home Economics, Foreign Languages, and Women's Handicrafts were taught only at women's teacher training colleges. When needed, female students were only taught how to teach in preschool education. In general, at women's teacher training colleges there was less instruction in natural sciences and more in what were considered typical women's fields: housekeeping and women's handicrafts. It is clear from the syllabus that the education of future teachers was adapted to their gender.

The law of 14 May 1869 determined that the language of instruction at teacher training colleges should be the mother tongue, while in each specific case the responsibility for deciding this was left to regional laws. If the mother tongue as the language of instruction at specific colleges could not be determined even through regional law, it was to be determined by the Ministry of Worship and Education, advised by the regional school administration.<sup>18</sup> Although the law did not state which were the second regional languages, it did say in the same Article that, wherever this is necessary, students should also be able to learn in the second regional language 'so that they can teach in this language if necessary.'

In 1870, a new syllabus was prescribed for women's teacher training colleges, which supplemented the previous syllabus and also determined the weekly number of hours for obligatory and elective subjects (Table 2), again separately for female students.<sup>19</sup> In addition to the language of instruction (the mother tongue), the syllabus included French among the obligatory subjects and, among the elective subjects, 'the second regional language', which was to be taught at two hours a week at women's colleges. English was taught only at women's colleges, initially three and later two hours a week.<sup>20</sup> Annual reports from colleges show that German was the language of instruction in Slovenian lands.<sup>21</sup>

The 1870 syllabus for women's teacher training colleges defined the number of obligatory and elective lessons hours for each subject (Table 2). During all four years of education, women had 134 hours in obligatory subjects and 17 hours in elective subjects; 151 hours in total. There were sixteen obligatory subjects. Most hours were devoted to the subject Language of Instruction (17

<sup>18</sup> The law of 14 May 1869, RGBI 62, Article 31.

<sup>19</sup> 'Lehrplan der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrerinnen. 19. Juli 1870, Z. 7033; in: *Verordnungsblatt für den Dienstbereich des Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht*, 1870 (Wien: K.k. Staatsdruckerei, Nr.112, 1870), 482–487.

<sup>20</sup> 'Lehrplan der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrerinnen', 482–487.

<sup>21</sup> France Strmčnik, O pretečenem in nadaljnem razvoju Zveze društev pedagoških delavcev Slovenije, in: *Sodobna pedagogika* (1986), no. 9–10, 407–419.

hours), followed by Pedagogy with Practical Exercises (15 hours) and Arithmetic and Geometry (14 hours). Less time was devoted to subjects like Natural Sciences and French (both 10 hours), Natural History (9 hours), and 8 hours were intended for subjects such as Geography, History and State Legislation, Drawing, Singing, and Piano. The lowest number of hours were devoted to the obligatory subjects, Gymnastics (Physical Education) (4 hours), Writing (3 hours), and Home Economics (1 hour). Among the elective subjects (total 17 hours for all four years of education), women could choose from two subjects: another regional language (8 hours) or English (9 hours).

Table 2: The number of weekly hours of *obligatory* and *elective* subjects at four-year women's teacher training colleges in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary in 1870<sup>22</sup>

| No. | SUBJECTS<br>Obligatory and Elective | WOMEN'S TEACHER<br>TRAINING COLLEGES<br>Years |           |           |           | Total<br>Hours by<br>subject |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------|
|     |                                     | 1   | 2         | 3         | 4         |                              |
| 1   | Religious Education                 | 2   | 2         | 1         | 1         | 6                            |
| 2   | Language of Instruction             | 5   | 4         | 4         | 4         | 17                           |
| 3   | Pedagogy with Practical Exercises   | -   | 2         | 5         | 8         | 15                           |
| 4   | Natural History                     | 3   | 2         | 2         | 2         | 9                            |
| 5   | Natural Sciences                    | 2   | 3         | 3         | 2         | 10                           |
| 6   | Geography                           | 2   | 2         | 2         | 2         | 8                            |
| 7   | Arithmetic and Geometry             | 4   | 4         | 4         | 2         | 14                           |
| 8   | History and State Legislation       | 2   | 2         | 2         | 2         | 8                            |
| 9   | Home Economics                      | -   | -         | -         | 1         | 1                            |
| 10  | Writing                             | 2   | 1         | -         | -         | 3                            |
| 11  | Drawing                             | 2   | 2         | 2         | 2         | 8                            |
| 12  | Singing                             | 2   | 2         | 2         | 2         | 8                            |
| 13  | Piano                               | 2   | 2         | 2         | 2         | 8                            |
| 14  | Gymnastics (Physical Education)     | 1   | 1         | 1         | 1         | 4                            |
| 15  | French                              | 3   | 3         | 2         | 2         | 10                           |
| 16  | Women's Handicrafts                 | 2   | 2         | 1         | -         | 5                            |
| 17  | Second regional language (elective) | (2)   | (2)       | (2)       | (2)       | (8)                          |
| 18  | English (elective)                  | (3)   | (2)       | (2)       | (2)       | (9)                          |
|     | <b>Total hours (obligatory)</b>     | <b>34</b>                                     | <b>34</b> | <b>33</b> | <b>33</b> | <b>134</b>                   |
|     | <b>Total hours (elective)</b>       | <b>5</b>                                      | <b>4</b>  | <b>4</b>  | <b>4</b>  | <b>17</b>                    |
|     | <b>Total hours</b>                  | <b>39</b>                                     | <b>38</b> | <b>37</b> | <b>37</b> | <b>151</b>                   |

<sup>22</sup> 'Lehrplan der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrerinnen', (482-487).

The third Austrian state law on primary education (1869) directly affected the establishment of the state four-year women's teacher training colleges in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, and indirectly also the development of women's teacher training colleges in the Hungarian half and, within it, the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. On 29 December 1872, with the agreement of the Diet of Dalmatia, Emperor Franz Joseph approved the regional school law for the Kingdom of Dalmatia, which adapted a number of the provisions of the state law of 1869 and determined that the length of education for future women teachers should be three years.<sup>23</sup> The Dalmatian women's teacher training colleges did not become four-year colleges until 1904, when the regional school law was harmonised with the state law.<sup>24</sup>

### The legislation and syllabuses for women's teacher education in the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary

The new state school laws were first adopted and confirmed in Vienna by the Habsburg rulers. These school laws primarily applied to the Habsburg lands in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, while in the Hungarian half the process was longer since the legislation had to be adapted to the Hungarian legal order and political conditions. The First Austrian Primary School Law (1774) was amended for the Hungarian half of the Monarchy (*Ratio educationis*, 1777), and the provisions were adapted to the diverse linguistic, religious, and other conditions in Hungary.<sup>25</sup>

The development of schools in the Hungarian half, which at the beginning of the construction of a centrally led state school system was reflected particularly in the expansion of the school network and in the training of women teachers, lagged behind the Austrian half from the very start. In the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, which was granted autonomy in education after the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement (1868), the legal provisions pertaining to the lengthening of women's teacher education followed the Austrian system with preparatory courses until the 1860s and, after the Liberal School Law of 14 May 1869, with the founding of women's three- or four-year state teacher training colleges. By confirming the Political School Constitution in the early

<sup>23</sup> Law of 29 December 1871, 'wirksam für das Königreich Dalmatien, womit auf Grund des Reichsgesetzes vom 14. Mai 1869 die Absätze ... des bezogenen Gesetzes abgeändert werden,' in: *Landes-Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für Dalmatien*, 1872 (Zara: Druckerei des nazionale Zara, št. 11, 1872), 20, Article 3.

<sup>24</sup> Law of 2 May 1904, 'wirksam für das Königreich Dalmatien, womit die §§ 3 und 4 des Landesgesetzes vom 29. Dezember 1871 aufgehoben werden,' in: *Landes-Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Dalmatien*, 1904 (Zara: Druckerei des 'Narodni list' Zara, št. 16, 1904), 35, Article 1.

<sup>25</sup> Ivana Horbec, Maja Matasović, Vlasta Švoger, *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj: zakonodavni okvir*, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017. Accessed 17 July 2017. <http://histedu.isp.hr/histedu/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Institut-MODERNIZACIJA-SKOLSTVA.pdf>

19<sup>th</sup> century, Emperor Francis II had left the methodical-didactic supervision of primary schools in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary at the lower and middle levels to the Church.<sup>26</sup> Schools in the Hungarian half were influenced by this legislation only indirectly, but it did apply to the school system in the Military Frontier, where Austrian laws were in force until its annexation to the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (1881) and the adoption of a new school law (1888). The provisions of the third state people's school law (1869) were in 1871 adapted for the Military Frontier through the Regulation on Teaching in People's Schools in the Military Frontier, but there is no mention of women's teacher education.<sup>27</sup>

Following the German example in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, there was an attempt to establish Hungarian as the language of instruction at all levels in the Hungarian half. Even before 1848, there were constant political conflicts regarding the use of the official language. On the basis of the decree on school reform passed by the Hungarian parliament and the ruler's confirmation of the proposal, a new school law, *Systema scholarum elementarium*, was introduced in 1845 for the Hungarian half,<sup>28</sup> and showed strong Church influence. It focused on religious education and gave priests direct supervision over schools. The language of instruction was the mother tongue, but special importance was given to Hungarian. A two-year preparatory course was prescribed for women teachers, and the candidates acquired a job upon the submission of suitable certificates. In the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, the law was not implemented before 1848, and it did not have full legal validity during the period of Neo-Absolutism (1851–1859). It came fully into force only after 1861, and applied until the Croatian college law of 1874.

After the establishment of the Austria-Hungary and the adoption of a series of Liberal laws, the Hungarian assembly adopted the Law on Primary School, which entered into force in the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary on 8 December 1868.<sup>29</sup> This Hungarian law did not directly influence schools in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, since education fell under the independent responsibilities of the Croatian parliament after the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement (1868). Based on these two state laws, the subsequent secularisation and modernisation of primary schools in the Kingdom was established by the Law of 14 October 1874, which was adopted by the Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian assembly, led by Ban Ivan Mažuranić, and confirmed by Emperor Franz Joseph.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> *Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen in den k., auch k. k. deutschen Erbstaaten* (Wien: Verlag der k. k. Schulbücher, 1806), 10 editions that between 1806 and 1869 determined the Austrian primary education.

<sup>27</sup> Horbec et al., *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj*, 39–40, 335–351.

<sup>28</sup> Horbec et al., *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj*, 28, 143–161.

<sup>29</sup> Horbec et al., *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj*, 36.

<sup>30</sup> Horbec et al., *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj*, 41–42, 353–386.

Due to its provision about the three-year education of teacher interns, this law had a great influence on the development of women's teacher training colleges in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. The previous preparatory courses became three-year women's teacher training colleges (Table 3). In place of the convent women's teacher training college, a state three-year women's teacher training college appeared in Zagreb.<sup>31</sup>

Table 3: The syllabus for three-year women's teacher training colleges in Croatian lands in 1875<sup>32</sup>

| No. | SUBJECT                        | 1 <sup>st</sup> year | 2 <sup>nd</sup> year | 3 <sup>rd</sup> year | Total     |
|-----|--------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| 1   | Religious Education            | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 6         |
| 2   | Pedagogy                       | 3                    | 4                    | 8                    | 15        |
| 3   | Croatian Language              | 6                    | 4                    | 4                    | 14        |
| 4   | German Language                | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 6         |
| 5   | Geography                      | 2                    | 2                    | -                    | 4         |
| 6   | History                        | -                    | 2                    | 2                    | 4         |
| 7   | Natural Sciences               | 2                    | 2                    | -                    | 4         |
| 8   | Physics                        | -                    | 2                    | 2                    | 4         |
| 9   | Mathematics                    | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 6         |
| 10  | Geometry and Geometric Drawing | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 6         |
| 11  | Calligraphy                    | 1                    | -                    | -                    | 1         |
| 12  | Freehand Drawing               | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 6         |
| 13  | Singing                        | 1                    | 1                    | 1                    | 3         |
| 14  | Women's Handicrafts            | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 6         |
| 15  | Gymnastics                     | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 6         |
|     | <b>Total</b>                   | <b>29</b>            | <b>31</b>            | <b>31</b>            | <b>91</b> |

The 1875 syllabus for women's teacher training colleges in Croatian lands defined of the number of hours for each subject for all three college years, but without determining the weekly number of obligatory and elective hours in each subject (Table 3). During all three college years, women had a total of 91 hours in all subjects. There were fifteen subjects. Most hours of education were devoted to the subject Pedagogy (15 hours), followed by Croatian Language (14 hours). Less time (6 hours) was devoted to the following subjects: Religious Education, German Language, Mathematics, Geometry and Geometric Drawing, Freehand Drawing, Women's Handicrafts, and Gymnastics, while the lowest number of hours were devoted to the subjects Singing (3 hours) and Calligraphy (1 hour).

<sup>31</sup> 'Učiteljske škole', in: *Školstvo u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji od njegovoga početka do konca god. 1895*. Sastavljeno po službenim podacima prigodom Milenijske izložbe u Budimpešti godine 1896 (Zagreb: Kr. Hrv. -Slav. -Dalm. Zem. Vlade, 1896), 351-354.

<sup>32</sup> Štefka Batinić, Sonja Gačina Škalamera. *Učiteljice i učitelji u Hrvatskoj 1849-2009* (Zagreb: Hrvatski školski muzej, 2009), 16.

With the second Croatian school Law of 31 October 1888, all the teacher training colleges became four-year colleges.<sup>33</sup> The Organisational Statute of 17 July 1889 changed the organisation of the colleges and determined in more detail the syllabus, shown in Table 4.<sup>34</sup>

Table 4: The syllabus for four-year women's teacher training colleges in Croatian lands in 1889<sup>35</sup>

| No. | SUBJECT   | 1 <sup>st</sup> year | 2 <sup>nd</sup> year | 3 <sup>rd</sup> year | 4 <sup>th</sup> year | Total      |
|-----|---|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|
| 1   | Religious Education                                     | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 8          |
| 2   | Pedagogy and Practical Exercises                        | /                    | 4                    | 6                    | 9                    | 19         |
| 3   | Croatian or Serbian Language                            | 4                    | 3                    | 3                    | 3                    | 13         |
| 4   | German Language   | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 2                    | 8          |
| 5   | Geography, History and the Teaching of the Constitution | 3                    | 3                    | 3                    | 2                    | 11         |
| 6   | Mathematics and Geographic Drawing                      | 3                    | 3                    | 3                    | 2                    | 11         |
| 7   | Natural Sciences  | 3                    | 2                    | 1                    | 1                    | 7          |
| 8   | Physics   | 2                    | 2                    | 1                    | 1                    | 6          |
| 9   | Calligraphy   | 1                    | 1                    | /                    | /                    | 2          |
| 10  | Freehand Drawing and Modelling                          | 4                    | 2                    | 2                    | 1                    | 9          |
| 11  | Music and Singing                                       | 2                    | 2                    | 1                    | 2                    | 7          |
| 12  | Home Economics*   | No data              | No data              | No data              | No data              | 2          |
| 13  | Women's Handicrafts*                                    | No data              | No data              | No data              | No data              | 11         |
| 14  | Gymnastics  | 2                    | 2                    | 1                    | 1                    | 6          |
| 15  | <i>Gusle</i> -playing (elective)                        | (2)                  | (2)                  | (2)                  | (2)                  | (8)        |
|     | <b>Total hours (obligatory)</b>                         | <b>28</b>            | <b>28</b>            | <b>25</b>            | <b>26</b>            | <b>107</b> |
|     | <b>Total hours (elective)</b>                           | <b>2</b>             | <b>2</b>             | <b>2</b>             | <b>2</b>             | <b>8</b>   |
|     | <b>Total hours</b>                                      | <b>30</b>            | <b>30</b>            | <b>27</b>            | <b>28</b>            | <b>115</b> |

\* The subjects Home Economics (2 hours a week) and Women's Handicrafts (11 hours a week) were also taught.<sup>36</sup> There was no precise data on the number of hours in these subjects by college year.

The obligatory and elective subjects with the prescribed hours for each year at four-year women's teacher training colleges are given in Table 4. Since

<sup>33</sup> Horbec et al., *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj*, 424–427; Antun Cuvaj, *Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas*, vol. VII (Zagreb: Kr. Zemaljske tiskare, 1911), 703–705.

<sup>34</sup> 'Učiteljske škole', in: *Školstvo u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, 356; cf.: Ustrojni statut za učiteljske škole u kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji (Zagreb 1889), 27 and 41.

<sup>35</sup> 'Učiteljske škole', in: *Školstvo u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, 356–357.

<sup>36</sup> 'Učiteljske škole', in: *Školstvo u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, 356–357.

data on the number of hours for each year for the subjects Home Economics and Women's Handicrafts was lacking, the total number of hours in Table 4 is not accurate. Only the data on the total number of hours per week is available for these subjects. During all four years of education, women had 107 hours in obligatory subjects and 8 hours in elective subjects, 115 hours in total. There were fourteen obligatory subjects. The greatest number of lessons was devoted to the subjects Pedagogy and Practical Exercises (19 hours) and Croatian or Serbian Language (13 hours). They were followed by subjects with 11 hours: Geography, History and the Teaching of the Constitution; Mathematics and Geographic Drawing; and Women's Handicrafts. The lowest number of hours were devoted to the obligatory subjects Physics (6 hours) and Gymnastics (6 hours). Among the elective subjects (8 hours in total for all four college years), women could choose only one – Gusle-playing. A practice classroom where students could practice teaching was not introduced until the 1888 law, which also prescribed the final 'maturity' examination.

### Comparison of educational legislation and syllabuses for women's teacher training colleges

The syllabus for women's teacher training colleges, which on the basis of the third Austrian state law (1869) prescribed a detailed curriculum (1870) for the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, can first be compared to the syllabus of women's teacher training colleges in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (1889), which was created for the Croatian part of the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary on the basis of the Croatian law on primary schools and teacher education of 1888, and introduced four-year teacher training colleges in the Kingdom. Meanwhile, women's teacher training colleges in Dalmatia, i.e. in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, still lasted three years on the basis of the Dalmatian regional law, valid until 1904.

The differences in the syllabuses within Austria-Hungary thus reflected the *differences in legislation*. The Austrian half was ahead of the Hungarian (Croatian) one with regard to the introduction of modern advances. In the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, regional special features were retained and the Austrian laws were implemented later. Even though the Austrian syllabus for women's teacher training colleges appeared considerably before the one in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, it was much more detailed and better adapted for different cases.

A comparison between the Austrian syllabus (1870) for four-year women's teacher training colleges (Table 2) and the syllabus for four-year women's teacher training colleges in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (1889) (Table 4) shows *differences in the number of obligatory and elective subjects*. The difference between them is in the number of obligatory subjects, as the Austrian syllabus (1870) had 16 obligatory subjects, while the Croatian-Slavonian syllabus

(1889) had 14 obligatory subjects. The comparison between obligatory subjects shows that the Austrian syllabus had two obligatory subjects (French and Piano) more than the syllabus for Croatia-Slavonia. The subjects pertaining to the same fields had different names in women's teacher training colleges. The Austrian syllabus did not specify which among the obligatory subjects was the language of instruction, leaving this decision to the regional authorities. The syllabus for the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, on the other hand, specified Croatian or Serbian as the obligatory language of instruction, alongside German.

The comparison between syllabuses shows *differences in the number of hours in the subjects (maximum and minimum hours of education)*. The Austrian syllabus (1870) (Table 2) had 10 or more hours of education in the 5 obligatory subjects: Language of instruction (17 hours), Pedagogy with Practical Exercises (15 hours), Arithmetic and Geometry (14 hours), Natural Sciences, and French (both 10 hours). The syllabus in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (1889) (Table 4) also had 10 or more hours in 5 obligatory subjects: Pedagogy and Practical Exercises (19 hours), Croatian or Serbian Language (13 hours), followed by 3 subjects with 11 hours: Geography, History and the Teaching of the Constitution; Mathematics and Geographic Drawing; and Women's Handicrafts. There were 4 hours more in Pedagogy and Croatian or Serbian language that were not to be found in the Austrian syllabus (1870). The lowest number of hours were devoted to the 3 obligatory subjects in the Austrian syllabus (1870): Gymnastics (Physical Education) (4 hours), Writing (3 hours), and Home Economics (1 hour), while the syllabus in Croatia-Slavonia (1889) had 2 obligatory subjects with the lowest number of hours: Physics (6 hours) and Gymnastics (6 hours). There was also a difference between the number of hours in the elective subjects. The Austrian syllabus (1870) had 2 elective subjects: Second regional Language (8 hours) and English (9 hours), while Croatian-Slavonian syllabus (1889) had 1 elective subject: Gusle-playing (8 hours).

At women's teacher training colleges, there were more subjects that were considered typical for women: Home Economics and Women's Handicrafts. It is clear from the syllabus that the education of future teachers was adapted to their gender.

## Development and organisation of women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian and Croatian lands

In general, from the start of the Austrian state school system in the year 1869, the school authorities were well aware that, in addition to good organisation and material conditions, good teachers were necessary for the development of primary schools. Their education had to be provided in line with the educational conditions of the time. Since the complexity of their knowledge and the skills necessary gradually increased, the length of their education also

increased. Demands for the better education of teachers corresponded with demands for better pay and an improvement in their social status. Particularly in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, these demands were increasingly present at least from 1848 onward, while their realisation was enabled by the third primary school law in 1869, which completely separated the work of teachers from that of Church employees (parish clerks and organ players) and transferred the supervision of the pedagogical work from priests to laymen and college councils. The expansion of the network of women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian and Croatian lands was largely dependent on the competent school ministries that formulated school policy. In spite of the legal provisions in place, the transition to four-year women's teacher training colleges was not unified in the Austrian half since, in addition to Dalmatia, education at the women's teacher training colleges initially lasted only three years even in some Slovenian lands. The legal requirements were in practice adapted to the conditions in individual lands.

#### *The development of women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian lands*

The introduction of the new syllabus for women's teacher training colleges (1869), which prescribed four-year education, differed from land to land and one college to another. The transition to four years did not happen at all colleges at the same time. Similarly, privately owned women's teacher training colleges did not acquire the right of public accreditation at the same time.

#### *Styria*

After 1892, there was a private women's teacher training college in Maribor, opened by the School Sisters of Notre Dame. It acquired public accreditation in 1896.<sup>37</sup> In 1902, a state women's four-year teacher training college was also established in Maribor.<sup>38</sup>

#### *Carinthia*

The state women's teacher training college in Klagenfurt in Carinthia was also founded in 1869, but did not implement the four-year programme until 1872/73.<sup>39</sup> Due to financial cuts, the women's college there was abolished in

<sup>37</sup> *Kronika matrne hiše šolskih sester v Mariboru 1864 – 1919* (Ljubljana: Kongregacija šolskih sester sv. Frančiška Kristusa Kralja, Mariborska provinca, 2006), 608–609.

<sup>38</sup> France Strmčnik, 'Razvoj izobraževanja osnovnošolskega učiteljstva na Slovenskem v obdobju od leta 1869 do razpada Avstro-Ogrske', in: *Osnovna šola na Slovenskem 1869 – 1969* (Ljubljana: Slovenski šolski muzej, 1970), 344–346.

<sup>39</sup> Johann Braumüller, 'Die Entwicklung der Klagenfurter Lehrerbildungsanstalt seit 1869', in: *Dritter Bericht der k. k. Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Klagenfurt* (Klagenfurt: K.k. Lehrerbildungsanstalt, 1882), 5: 30–33.

1881.<sup>40</sup> In 1899, a private convent women's teacher training college was opened by the Ursuline nuns.<sup>41</sup>

### *Carniola*

On 25 August 1871, following a decree by the Ministry of Worship and Education, a four-year teacher training college for women was opened in Ljubljana.<sup>42</sup> There were also two private women's teacher training colleges in Carniola, run by the Ursuline sisters: in Ljubljana (1869), acquiring public accreditation in 1902, and in Škofja Loka (1909), gaining public accreditation in 1910.<sup>43</sup>

### *Gorizia and Gradisca*

The Ursuline convent had a private women's teacher training college in the town of Gorizia from 1862 onward.<sup>44</sup> The state women's teacher training college in Gorizia was founded in 1874/75. It became a four-year women's teacher training college.

### *Trieste*

There was first a private Benedictine convent women's teacher training college, which in 1854 had eight students. The Benedictine nuns held two-year courses. The future teacher candidates took examinations before a state committee.<sup>45</sup> In 1872, there was a state women's teacher training college with 33 students, where the language of instruction was Italian.<sup>46</sup> Due to the lack of new students and high costs connected to the introduction of a four-year programme, the women's teacher training college was abolished in 1875.<sup>47</sup> The students were able to continue their education at the Koper teacher training college.

<sup>40</sup> Braumüller, 'Die Entwicklung der Klagenfurter Lehrerbildungsanstalt seit 1869', 40–42.

<sup>41</sup> Tatjana Hojan, *Žensko šolstvo in delovanje učiteljic na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Slovenski šolski muzej, 1970), 35.

<sup>42</sup> Venčeslav Čopič. *Sto let ljubljanskega učiteljsiža*. (Ljubljana: Gimnazija pedagoške smeri v Ljubljani, 1973), 13.

<sup>43</sup> Tatjana Hojan, 'Žensko šolstvo in učiteljstvo na Slovenskem v preteklih stoletjih', in: *Zbornik za historiju školstva i prosvjete (1968)* (Zagreb: Hrvatski školski muzej, Pedagoški muzej u Beogradu, Slovenski šolski muzej v Ljubljani, 1969), 69–70.

<sup>44</sup> Hojan, *Žensko šolstvo in delovanje učiteljic na Slovenskem*, 35.

<sup>45</sup> Hojan, 'Žensko šolstvo in učiteljstvo na Slovenskem v preteklih stoletjih', 69.

<sup>46</sup> Dragutin Franković, Ljubica Godler, Ljubica Lončar, Mihajlo Ogrizović, Dragutin Pazman i Antun Tunkl. *Povijest školstva i pedagogije u Hrvatskoj*. (Zagreb: Pedagoško-književni zbor, 1958), 148–149.

<sup>47</sup> Johann Markelj, *Bericht der k.k. Lehrerbildungs - Anstalt in Capodistria am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1899/1900*. (Capodistria: Lehrerbildungs - Anstalt, 1900), 22.

*Istria*

The Slovenian female teachers from Koper – Istria attended the women's teacher training college in Gorizia. It became a four-year women's teacher training college in 1874/75.<sup>48</sup>

The establishment of women's teacher training colleges and a four-year curriculum in the Slovenian lands was decided by the Ministry of Worship and Education; only exceptionally were these decisions influenced by the initiatives of individuals or local factors. Following demands for a more unified organisation of women's teacher training colleges, curricula and syllabuses, the Ministry formed a special commission that was responsible for changes in and the improvement of women's teacher training colleges. In 1874, the commission created an Organisational Statute for Women's Teacher Training Colleges, which came into force in 1874/75.<sup>49</sup> The statute introduced a new definition of women's teacher training colleges, which were now obligated to train teachers to be capable of fulfilling the requirements specified by the state primary school law in terms of their professional and general knowledge and their character.<sup>50</sup> The provisions pertaining to the duration of education, the public nature of colleges and the non-payment of fees, as well as to the language of instruction, remained the same. The accessibility of teacher education was improved through the introduction of preparatory classes that until 1873 could only be organised in women's teacher training colleges but, after the implementation of the Statute, also in other colleges. These classes enabled students to enrol at women's teacher training colleges from different schools, thus helping alleviate the lack of teachers.<sup>51</sup> In accordance with the 1896 Decree, private women's teacher training colleges received the right to the public accreditation. This meant that they worked under the condition that the Statute and the curriculum in private women's teacher training colleges were approved by the Minister. Also, the final exam had to be taken under the supervision of an inspector, who had to consent to the granting of the leaving certificate. These private women's teacher training colleges worked according to the same standards as state women's teacher training colleges.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Strmčnik, 'Razvoj izobraževanja osnovnošolskega učiteljstva na Slovenskem v obdobju od leta 1869 do razpada Avstro-Ogrske', in: *Osnovna šola na Slovenskem 1869 – 1969* (Ljubljana: Slovenski šolski muzej, 1970), 344–346.

<sup>49</sup> 'Verordnung des Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht vom 26. Mai 1874, z. 7114 an alle Landeschulbehörden, womit ein Organisations-Statut für die Lehrerbildungsanstalten erlassen wird', in: *Verordnungsblatt für den Dienstbereich des Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht*, 1874 (Wien: Verlag des k.k. Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht, 1874), 119–123.

<sup>50</sup> 'Verordnung des Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht vom 26. Mai 1874', 119–123.

<sup>51</sup> 'Verordnung des Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht vom 26. Mai 1874', 119–123.

<sup>52</sup> Bernhard Klein, *Privatschulen im kanonistischen Kontext – eine staatskirchenrechtliche Bestandsaufnahme*. (Linz: Universitätsverlag Rudolf Trauner, 1996), 102.

*The development of women's teacher training colleges in Croatian lands**The Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia*

A women's teacher training college was opened in 1848 in the Sisters of Charity convent in Zagreb, with public accreditation from 1852 onwards.<sup>53</sup> From 1864/65 and until 1874, in Đakovo was also a women's private convent two-year teacher training college.<sup>54</sup> In 1875, a state women's teacher training college appeared in Zagreb, but was abolished in 1884. In Zagreb, women could only attend the Sisters of Mercy convent teacher training college. In 1875, a private Serbian women's college was founded, which acquired public accreditation in 1911. In 1909/10, a state women's teacher training college appeared in Osijek, in the same building as the state men's teacher training college.<sup>55</sup>

*Međimurje*

It was under the administration of the Hungarian Zala Land and the Hungarian education ministry in Budapest; there were no women's training colleges in the land.<sup>56</sup>

*Istria*

The female teachers from Istria attended the teacher training colleges in Gorizia or Dubrovnik. The first Croatian private women's teacher college in Istria was founded in 1912 in Pazin.<sup>57</sup>

*Dalmatia*

In 1875, a state women's teacher training college was founded in Dubrovnik. It was bilingual – Croatian and Italian. In 1904/05, the teacher training colleges in Dalmatia became four-year colleges.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Dinko Župan, 'The Position of Female Teachers in the Educational System of Croatia (1868-1918)', in: *Women's Education in Southern Europe: Historical Perspectives (19th-20th centuries)*, Volume III (Roma: Antonella Cagnolati and Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano, Aracne Editrice, 2019), 56-57; Štefka Batinić, Igor Radeka, 'The development and prospects of teacher education in Croatia', in: *History of Education & Children's Literature* 8 (2013), no.1: 47; Ida Ograjšek Gorenjak, 'Otvaranje ženskog liceja u Zagrebu', in: *Povijest u nastavi* IV/8 (2006), 147-148.

<sup>54</sup> 'Učiteljske škole', in: *Školstvo u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, 353; Dinko Župan, 'Školovanje učiteljica', in: *Mentalni korzet. Spolna politika obrazovanja žena u Banskoj Hrvatskoj (1868-1918)* (Osijek-Slavonski Brod: Učiteljski fakultet u Osijeku, Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje Slavonski Brod, 2013), 158.

<sup>55</sup> Štefka Batinić, Sonja Gaćina Škalamera, *Učiteljice i učitelji u Hrvatskoj 1849-2009* (Zagreb: Hrvatski školski muzej, 2009), 55; Župan, 'The Position of Female Teachers in the Educational System of Croatia (1868-1918)', in: *Women's Education in Southern Europe: Historical Perspectives (19th-20th centuries)*, 56-57.

<sup>56</sup> Batinić, Gaćina Škalamera, *Učiteljice i učitelji u Hrvatskoj 1849-2009*, 52-54.

<sup>57</sup> Batinić, Gaćina Škalamera, *Učiteljice i učitelji u Hrvatskoj 1849-2009*, 56.

<sup>58</sup> The law of 2 May 1904, in: *Landes-Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Dalmatien* (Zara, no. 16, 1904), 35, Article 1; Batinić, Radeka, 'The development and prospects of

## A comparative analysis of the development, number, and organisation of women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian and Croatian lands 1869–1914

Using the data presented above, Table 5 below shows comparably and chronologically the women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian and Croatian lands within the period in question. The development and number of women's teacher training colleges and their organisation in terms of the type (private or state) are analysed. Due to the changes in legislation and the number of colleges, the period in question is divided into the period prior to 1875 and the period after 1909. This division facilitates a better comparison between the lands.

Table 5: Development, number and organisation of women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian and Croatian lands 1869–1914

| Slovenian lands<br>(Austrian half of Austria-Hungary) | Women's teacher training colleges<br>1869–1914   | Number of colleges until 1875<br>(private and state) | Number of colleges after 1909<br>(private and state) | Number of all colleges<br>1869–1914<br>(private and state) |
|---|--|--|--|--|
| <b>Styria</b>   | <b>Maribor</b> , School Sisters women's private college (1892) – public accreditation 1896<br><b>Maribor</b> , women's state college (4-year) (1902)   | -  | 2<br>(1 state)<br>(1 private)                        | 2<br>(1 state)<br>(1 private)                              |
| <b>Carinthia</b>                                      | <b>Klagenfurt</b> , women's state college (3-year) (1869–1881) – 4-year from 1872/73<br><b>Klagenfurt</b> , Ursuline women's private college (1899)  | 1<br>(1 state)                                       | 2<br>(1 state)<br>(1 private)                        | 2<br>(1 state)<br>(1 private)                              |
| <b>Carniola</b>                                       | <b>Ljubljana</b> , Ursuline women's private college (1869) – public accreditation in 1902<br><b>Ljubljana</b> , women's state college (4-year) (1871)<br><b>Škofja Loka</b> , Ursuline women's private college (1909) – public accreditation in 1910 | 2<br>(1 state)<br>(1 private)                        | 3<br>(1 state)<br>(2 private)                        | 3<br>(1 state)<br>(2 private)                              |

teacher education in Croatia', 48; Župan, 'The Position of Female Teachers in the Educational System of Croatia (1868-1918)', in: *Women's Education in Southern Europe: Historical Perspectives (19th-20th centuries)*, 57.

|  |   |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|---|--|
| <b>Gorizia and Gradisca</b>                            | <b>Gorizia</b> , Ursuline women's private college (1862)<br><b>Gorizia</b> , women's state college (4-year) from 1874/75  | 2<br>(1 state)<br>(1 private)                                | 2<br>(1 state)<br>(1 private)                               | 2<br>(1 state)<br>(1 private)                                  |
| <b>Trieste</b>   | <b>Trieste</b> , Benedictine women's private college (1854)<br><b>Trieste</b> , women's state college (3-year) (1872–1875)  | 2<br>(1 state)<br>(1 private)                                | 1<br>(1 private)  | 2<br>(1 state)<br>(1 private)                                  |
| <b>Istria (Koper)</b>                                  | -   | -  | -   | -  |
|  | <b>Total</b>  | <b>7</b><br>(4 state)<br>(3 private)                         | <b>10</b><br>(4 state)<br>(6 private)                       | <b>11</b><br>(5 state)<br>(6 private)                          |
| <b>Croatian lands</b>                                  | <b>Women's teacher training colleges 1869 – 1914</b>  | <b>Number of colleges before 1875</b><br>(private and state) | <b>Number of colleges after 1909</b><br>(private and state) | <b>Number of all colleges 1869–1914</b><br>(private and state) |
| <b>Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia</b><br>(Hungarian half) | <b>Zagreb</b> , Sisters of Mercy women's private college (1848) – public accreditation in 1852 – 4-year from 1888<br><b>Đakovo</b> , women's private college (2-year)(1864–1874)<br><b>Zagreb</b> , women's state college (1875–1884)<br><b>Karlovac</b> , Serbian women's private college (1875) – public accreditation from 1911<br><b>Osijek</b> , women's state college (1909/10) | 4<br>(1 state)<br>(3 private)                                | 3<br>(1 state)<br>(2 private)                               | 5<br>(2 state)<br>(3 private)                                  |
| <b>Međimurje</b><br>(Hungarian half)                   | -   | -  | -   | -  |
| <b>Istria</b><br>(Austrian half)                       | <b>Pazin</b> , women's private college (1912)   | -  | 1<br>(1 private)  | 1<br>(1 private)   |
| <b>Dalmatia</b><br>(Austrian half)                     | <b>Dubrovnik</b> , women's state college (3-year) (1875) (from 1904/05, 4-year)   | 1<br>(1 state)   | 1<br>(1 state)  | 1<br>(1 state)   |
|  | <b>Total</b>  | <b>5</b><br>(2 state)<br>(3 private)                         | <b>5</b><br>(2 state)<br>(3 private)                        | <b>7</b><br>(3 state)<br>(4 private)                           |

*A comparison with regard to the development by the years and number of women's teacher training colleges* (Table 5) shows that there was a total of 11 women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian lands and 7 in Croatian lands between 1869 and 1914. In Slovenian lands, the largest number were in Carniola (3), less in Gorizia and Gradisca (2), Styria (2), Carinthia (2), and Trieste (2). In Croatian lands, most were in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (5), and fewer in Dalmatia (1) and Istria (1). Altogether, there were 5 women's teacher training colleges in Croatian lands and 7 in Slovenian lands between 1869 and 1875. A comparison of the Slovenian and Croatian lands after 1909 shows that there were 10 women's teacher training colleges in total in the Slovenian lands. The highest number of colleges was in Carniola (3), followed by Gorizia and Gradisca (2), Styria (2) and Carinthia (2), and Trieste (1). In Croatian lands, there were 5 teacher training colleges altogether. The highest number of colleges was in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (3), the lowest in Istria (1) and Dalmatia (1). In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were 10 women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian lands and five in Croatian lands.

*A comparison with regard to the basis of school legislation* shows that, between 1869 and 1914, women's teacher training colleges were founded on the basis of school laws, including the transformation of three-year colleges into four-year ones. The third School Law of 14 May 1869, which applied to the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary (the Slovenian lands, and the Croatian lands of Istria and Dalmatia), prescribed a four-year education. The implementation of the law was gradual since most of the women's teacher training colleges initially lasted three years, or four years from the mid-1870s. The last to introduce the four-year programme was Dalmatia in 1904/05.

In the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary, the School Law of 14 October 1874 decreed for the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia that the then women's teacher-education courses should be abolished and turned into three-year women's teacher training colleges. Four-year programmes were introduced with the Law of 31 October 1888. In Slovenian lands, most women's teacher training colleges became four-year colleges in the 1870s, while in Croatian lands this happened in the 1890s. In accordance with the 1896 Decree, private women's teacher training colleges received the right to public accreditation.

*A comparison with regard to the founder (state or private)* (Table 5) shows that in Slovenian lands there were four state colleges and three private, convent colleges until 1875. In Croatian lands, there were two state colleges and three private convent colleges. After 1909, this changed due to the closing down of colleges. In Slovenian lands, the number of private convent colleges with public accreditation increased by three (there were 6 private colleges in total), and in Croatian lands the number of private convent colleges with public accreditation increased by two (3 private colleges altogether). After 1909, there were 10 women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian lands (4 state and 6 private) and five women's teacher training colleges in Croatian lands (2 state and 3 private). In both lands there were more private (10) than state (8) women's

teacher training colleges between 1869 and 1914. After 1909, the number of private colleges in Slovenian lands grew from three to six, while in Croatian lands the number remained the same (3). The number of women's colleges in Slovenian lands increased. It can be justifiably assumed that more women decided to become teachers in Slovenian lands and that they were trained mainly at private teacher training colleges.

## Discussion

Comparative analysis has shown that women's teacher education between 1867 and 1914 in Slovenian and Croatian lands differed even with regard to legislation, which greatly influenced its organisation. In Slovenian lands, four-year women's teacher training colleges appeared much earlier than in Croatian lands. In the former, the Law of 14 May 1869 prescribed that study at women's teacher training colleges should last four years, which also applied to Istria, but not Dalmatia (until 1904). In Croatian lands in the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary, the Law of 14 October 1874 first prescribed three-year women's teacher education programmes, but the Law of 31 October 1888 increased the duration of the programmes to four years.

A comparison of syllabuses from 1869 and the 1870 amendment for Slovenian lands, Istria, and Dalmatia with the syllabuses for Croatian lands from 1889 shows that different subjects were prescribed for women's teachers education in both sets of lands. The syllabus for women's teacher education in Slovenian lands (1870) did not specify among the obligatory subjects the language of instruction since the decision was left to the regional authorities, while in Croatian lands (1889) it prescribed Croatian or Serbian and German. The comparison of women's teacher syllabuses for different lands also shows that they did not prescribe the same number of subjects for women. In both lands, women took the subjects Housekeeping and Women's Handicrafts, but in Croatian lands French and Piano were not among their obligatory subjects, and English and the second regional language were not among the elective subjects. The syllabuses were adapted to the requirements of individual lands.

Another difference between women's teacher training colleges in the Slovenian and Croatian lands was in their founder (state or private). Private colleges were convent colleges for women in both Slovenian and Croatian lands. They mostly acquired public accreditation toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Because of the abolition of certain colleges, the period in question (1869–1914) has been divided into the period before 1875 and after 1909 in this study. Until 1875, in Slovenian lands there were 7 women's teacher training colleges, 4 state and 3 private. In the same period, there were 5 women's teacher training colleges in Croatian lands, of which 2 were state owned and 3 private. After 1909, the total number of women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian lands increased to 10: of these, 4 were state owned (1 state women's teacher training college in Trieste was abolished and 1 state women's teacher training college

in Maribor was new) and 6 were private. In Croatian lands, the total number of women's teacher training colleges in comparison to the previous period remained at 5, with 2 being state owned and 3 private. One state women's teacher training college in Zagreb and one private one in Đakovo were abolished. A new state women's teacher training college was opened in Osijek and another, private women's teacher training college was opened in Pazin.

Due to the different development of women's teacher education in the transition periods, differences in women's teacher education between Slovenian and Croatian lands were sufficiently notable also during the mid-1870s, when in Croatian lands there were fewer colleges in total (5), fewer state owned ones (2), and an equal number of private ones (3) as in Slovenian lands, where there were 7 colleges, 4 state owned and 3 private. After 1909, the total number grew only in Slovenian lands (from 7 to 10), while in Croatian lands it remained the same at 5. In Slovenian lands, there was a notable increase in women's colleges, while in Croatian lands it remained the same. The comparison between Slovenian and Croatian lands justifies the claim that the increase of women's teacher training colleges indicated a possibility for increased employment for women in this profession, especially in the Slovenian lands. This was also prompted by legislation that gave accreditation to the private teacher training colleges, making them equivalent to state women's teacher education. By doing this, at that time women gained the opportunity to achieve the highest level of education<sup>59</sup>, which brought them a better social position compared to other women who were not in this profession.

## Conclusion

This is the first comparative study about research in the field of women's teacher education during Austro-Hungary both in Slovenian and Croatian lands, and is therefore important for further historical research. The Austrian school legislation had a quantitative and qualitative influence on the development and organisation of women's teacher training colleges and on the quality of women's teacher education. Four-year secondary level teacher training colleges appeared, and private women's teacher training colleges became publicly accredited, while teachers became state employees. Between 1867 and 1914, both in Slovenian and Croatian lands, women's teacher education became more standardised and professionalised, although this happened later in Croatian lands in the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary than in the Austrian half. In both Slovenian and Croatian lands, private women's teacher training colleges were predominant between 1869 and 1914.

---

<sup>59</sup> In addition to the women's teacher training college, the Boarding College for Girls was the only institution to provide teacher education in the 1890s. Students who passed the final exam of the pedagogical course at the Boarding College for Girls could be employed as primary college teachers. For more information, see: Ida Ograjšek Gorenjak, 'Otvaranje ženskog liceja u Zagrebu', in: *Povijest u nastavi* IV/8 (2006), 170, 173.

## Bibliography

Batinić, Štefka; Gačina Škalamera, Sonja. *Učiteljice i učitelji u Hrvatskoj 1849-2009*. Zagreb: Hrvatski školski muzej, 2009.

Batinić, Štefka; Radeka, Igor. 'The development and prospects of teacher education in Croatia', *History of Education & Children's Literature*, 8, no.1 (2013): 43–62.

Braumüller, Johann. 'Die Entwicklung der Klagenfurter Lehrerbildungsanstalt seit 1869', *Dritter Bericht der k. k. Lehrerbildungsanstalt in Klagenfurt*. Klagenfurt: K.k. Lehrerbildungs – Anstalt, (1882), pp. 1–42.

Cuvaj, Antun. *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas*, vol. VII. Zagreb: Kr. Hrv.-slav.-dalm. Zemaljska vlada, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1911.

Čopič, Venceslav. *Sto let ljubljanskega učiteljišča*. Ljubljana: Gimnazija pedagoške smeri v Ljubljani, 1973.

*Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Österreich*. Wien: Der kaiserlich - königlichen Hof - und Staatsdruckerei, 1848.

Fischer, Jasna (Ed.-in-Chief); Borak, Neven; Čepič, Zdenko; Deželak Barič, Vida; Dolenc, Ervin; Ferenc, Tone; Gabrič, Aleš; Gašparič, Jure; Godeša, Bojan; Guštin, Damijan;... Vodopivec, Peter. *Slovenska novejša zgodovina 1848-1992: od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije*, vol. I. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 2005.

Franković, Dragutin; Godler, Ljubica; Lončar, Ljubica; Ogrizović, Mihajlo; Pazman, Dragutin i Tunkl, Antun. *Povijest školstva i pedagogije u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Pedagoško-književni zbor, 1958.

Govekar-Okoliš, Monika. *The Role of Grammar Colleges in Forming the National Identity of the Slovenes Within Austria from 1849 to 1914*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2017.

Hojan, Tatjana. 'Žensko šolstvo in učiteljstvo na Slovenskem v preteklih stoletjih'. *Zbornik za historiju školstva i prosvjete* (1968). Zagreb: Hrvatski školski muzej, Pedagoški muzej u Beogradu, Slovenski šolski muzej v Ljubljani, (1969): 47–81.

Hojan, Tatjana. *Žensko šolstvo in delovanje učiteljic na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana: Slovenski šolski muzej, 1970.

Horbec, Ivana; Matasović, Maja; Švoger, Vlasta. *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj: zakonodavni okvir*, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017. Accessed 17 July 2017. <http://histedu.isp.hr/histedu/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Institut-MODERNIZACIJA-SKOLSTVA.pdf>

Klein, Bernhard. *Privatschulen im kanonistischen Kontext – eine staatskirchenrechtliche Bestandsaufnahme*. Linz: Universitätsverlag Rudolf Trauner, 1996.

*Kronika materne hiše šolskih sester v Mariboru 1864 – 1919*. Ljubljana: Kongregacija šolskih sester sv. Frančiška Kristusa Kralja, Mariborska provinca, 2006.

‘Lehrplan der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrerinnen. 19. Juli 1870, Z. 7033’. *Verordnungsblatt für den Dienstbereich des Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht*. Wien: K.k. Staatsdruckerei, Nr.112, (1870): 482–487.

Markelj, Johann. *Bericht der k.k. Lehrerbildungs - Anstalt in Capodistria am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1899/1900*. Capodistria: Lehrerbildungs - Anstalt, 1900.

Ograjšek Gorenjak, Ida. ‘Otvaranje ženskog liceja u Zagrebu’. *Povijest u nastavi* IV/8 (2006): 147–176.

*Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen in den k., auch k. k. deutschen Erbstaaten*. Wien: Verlag der k.k. Schölbucher, 1806.

Sagadin, Janez. *Razprave iz pedagoške metodologije*. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta Univerza v Ljubljani, 1991.

Schmidt, Vlado. *Zgodovina šolstva in pedagogike na Slovenskem*. III del. Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1988.

Strmčnik, France. ‘Razvoj izobraževanja osnovnošolskega učiteljstva na Slovenskem v obdobju od leta 1869 do razpada Avstro-Ogrske’. *Osnovna šola na Slovenskem 1869 – 1969*. Ljubljana: Slovenski šolski muzej, (1970): 339–412.

Strmčnik, France. ‘O pretečenem in nadaljnem razvoju Zveze društev pedagoških delavcev Slovenije’. in: *Sodobna pedagogika* (1986), no. 9–10: 407–419.

The law of 25 May 1868 ‘wodurch grundsätzliche Bestimmungen über das Verhältnis der Schulle zur Kirche erlassen werden’. In: *Reichs - Gesetz - Blatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich*. RGBI 48, Jahrgang 1868. Wien: Aus der kaiserlich- königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1868.

The law of 14 May 1869 ‘durch welches die Grundsätze des Unterrichtswesens bezüglich der Volksschulen festgestellt werden’. In: *Reichsgesetzblatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich*. RGBI 62, Jahrgang 1869. Wien: Aus der kaiserlich- königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1869.

The law of 29. December 1871, ‘wirksam für das Königreich Dalmatien, womit auf Grund des Reichsgesetzes vom 14. Mai 1869 die Absätze ... des bezogenen Gesetzes abgeändert werden,’ in: *Landes-Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für Dalmatien*, Jahrgang 1872, Zara: Druckerei des nazionale Zara, no. 11, 1872.

The law of 2. May 1904, ‘wirksam für das Königreich Dalmatien, womit die §§ 3 und 4 des Landesgesetzes vom 29. Dezember 1871 aufgehoben werden,’ in: *Landes-Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Königreich Dalmatien*, Jahrgang 1904, Zara: Druckerei des ‘Narodni list’ Zara, no. 16, 1904.

‘Učiteljske škole’. *Školstvo u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji od njegovega početka do konca god. 1895*. Sastavljeno po službenim podacima prigodom Milenijske

izložbe u Budimpešti godine 1896. Zagreb: Kr. Hrv. -Slav. -Dalm. Zem. Vlade, 1896.

”Ustrojni statut za učiteljske škole u kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji”. Zagreb, 1889. U: „Učiteljske škole”. *Školstvo u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji od njegova početka do konca god. 1895*. Sastavljeno po službenim podacima prigodom Milenijske izložbe u Budimpešti godine 1896. Zagreb: Kr. Hrv.-Slav.-Dalm. zem. vlada, 1896.

Valentić, Mirko; Čoralić, Lovorka, ur. *Povijest Hrvata*, knj. 2: *Od kraja 15. stoljeća do kraja Prvoga svjetskog rata*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005.

‘Verordnung des Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht vom 26. Mai 1874, z. 7114 an alle Landesschulbehörden, womit ein Organisations-Statut für die Lehrerbildungsanstalten erlassen wird.’ in: *Verordnungsblatt für den Dienstbereich des Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht*, 1874. Wien: Verlag des k.k. Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht, 1874.

Vodopivec, Peter. *Od Pohlinove slovnice do samostojne države: slovenska zgodovina od konca 18. do konca 20. stoletja*. Ljubljana: Modrijan, 2006.

Žontar, Jože; Cova, Ugo; Demšar, Vinko; Dorsi, Pierpaolo; Fournier, Ger- not; Spreitzhofer, Karl; Umek, Eva; Wadl, Wilhelm. *Handbücher und Karten zur Verwaltungsstruktur in den Länder Kärnten, Krain, Küstenland und Steier- mark bis zum Jahre 1918*. Graz – Klagenfurt – Ljubljana – Gorizia – Trieste: Steiermarkisches Landesarchiv Graz, 1988.

Župan, Dinko. ‘Školovanje učiteljica.’ *Mentalni korzet. Spolna politika obrazovanja žena u Banskoj Hrvatskoj (1868-1918)*. Osijek-Slavonski Brod: Učiteljski fakultet u Osijeku, Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za pov- ijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje Slavonski Brod, (2013): 158–166.

Župan, Dinko. ‘The Position of Female Teachers in the Educational System of Croatia (1868-1918)’, in: *Women's Education in Southern Europe: Historical Perspectives (19th-20th centuries)*, Volume III (edited by Antonella Cagno- lati and Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano, Aracne Editrice, Roma, (2019): 55–83.

## SUMMARY

**Women's Teacher Education in Slovenian and Croatian Lands of Austria-Hungary – A Comparative Analysis**

This article is the first comparative study on the education of primary college women teachers in Slovenian and Croatian lands of Austria-Hungary through legislation and the organisation of women's teacher training colleges. The study consists of a historical comparative analysis covering the period from the emergence of the dualist Austria-Hungary (1867) until World War I (1914). During the period covered in this article, many changes were implemented in women's teacher education. Before the year 1869, women who wanted to become teachers acquired the necessary knowledge as nuns in monasteries, in private girls' schools, or at home. The Austrian school legislation of 1869 had a quantitative and qualitative influence on the development and organisation of women's teacher training colleges and on the quality of women's teacher education. Women teachers became state employees. Analysis of the legislation showed differences between the syllabuses of women's teacher training colleges in Slovenian and Croatian lands. The syllabuses were adapted to the requirements of individual lands. A comparison of their activities also shows differences in development, number, and organisation. New state women's teacher training colleges and private ones with public accreditation appeared. In Slovenian lands, under the Austrian school legislation, the development of four-year women's teacher training colleges was somewhat faster than in Croatian lands. The comparison shows that private women's teacher training colleges were predominant and women's teacher education became more standardised and professionalised both in Slovenian and Croatian lands.